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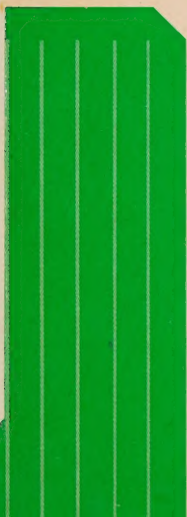
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Immigration and language imbalance

Jacques Henripin



Can. Dept. of Manpower and Immigration

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Immigration
and population
study*

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Immigration and language imbalance

Jacques Henripin



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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine the linguistic composition of the Canadian population, and particularly the impact immigration may have on the relative size of the various language groups. Since demographic phenomena vary slowly, their evolution must be followed over fairly long periods if their entire significance is to be assessed properly. It should not be surprising, therefore, if we sometimes go back as far as 1871. After describing these century-old trends, we will endeavour to identify the main factors that have affected the language structure of the Canadian population. We can venture a forecast of future development only to the extent that we gain an understanding of the role of the factors involved.

In Canada, three major phenomena have governed the evolution of the various language groups. The most fundamental, of course, is the language spoken by the immigrants who came to settle in our country. In 1760, the population was predominantly French-speaking — at least if one leaves out Indians and Eskimos.¹ This situation was profoundly altered at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century when immigrants of British origin arrived in large numbers. It is estimated that by 1805 English was spoken as much as French on Canada's present territory. This immigration continued, and even gained momentum, so that by about 1870 Anglophones accounted for about two-thirds of the population. These immigrants were not all of British origin, and in fact arrivals of persons born in Britain have continued to decrease in relative importance, which leads us to the second important factor: the adoptive language of immigrants who are neither English-speaking nor French-speaking when they arrive.

Obviously, the mother tongue of most of these immigrants is that of their native country. However, since most of them are obliged to learn English or French fairly soon, one of these two languages becomes, if not the language they use most frequently, at any rate that in which they communicate with their environment. The immigrants themselves maintain their mother tongue.² The mother tongue of their children, on the other hand, may not necessarily be that of their country of origin. In some cases, this kind of language mobility is not experienced until the third generation. It follows that a certain period of time is needed before the members of an ethnic group whose language of origin is neither English nor French adopt one of the official languages of the country as their mother tongue.

We should add here that this language mobility is not confined to groups whose origin is neither French nor English. The mother tongue of 150,000 individuals of British origin is French, but they only represent 1.5 per cent of the persons of British origin. The same phenomenon is much more pronounced among Canadians of

¹ At the time of the Treaty of Paris (1763) there were in Canada about 75,000 Francophones (of whom 10,000 were Acadians) and 20,000 Anglophones, of whom half lived in Newfoundland. See H. Charbonneau, J. Henripin and W. Mertens, *Etude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques au Canada*, an unpublished report prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, chap. 1, p. 2.

² We are using the term "mother tongue" in the same sense as it is used in the Census of Canada — that is, the first language an individual learned in childhood and still understands.

French origin: the mother tongue of nearly 650,000 persons of French origin is English, and this represents more than 10 per cent of Canadians of French origin.³ Outside the province of Quebec, this phenomenon is relatively much more widespread: it has mushroomed to the extent that persons of French origin living outside Quebec make a much more significant contribution to the English language group than to the Francophone population.

Another factor, natural increase — that is, the surplus of births over deaths — deserves to be mentioned because it explains the evolution of the relative size of the language groups. Obviously, if one group has a higher fertility than others, it will increase in proportion accordingly unless this process is counteracted by some other phenomenon. Today, this difference in natural growth rates does not play a very important part, except for Indians and Eskimos. But in the past, it was a tremendously important factor in the case of the Francophones. Their high birth rate enabled them to counterbalance the impact of immigrants, most of whom opted for English. They were thus able to maintain their relative importance within the Canadian population as a whole. These days, however, this above-average fertility has almost come to an end, and hence the relative importance of Francophones has been decreasing since about 1950.

A fourth factor must be mentioned here: emigration. If the different language groups do not emigrate in proportion to their numbers, their relative size is altered. We are, however, unable to do justice to this phenomenon, for lack of sufficient information.

We can pinpoint three factors in the evolution of the language groups:

- the growth of various ethnic groups;
- language mobility;
- different reproduction rates.

This study will cover Canada as a whole, although in some cases information will be given by province. We shall, however, devote particular attention to the province of Quebec, for a reason that will become apparent: it will be seen that in the other provinces, Francophones are losing ground, and except for a few specific areas (northern New Brunswick and the fringe of Ontario bordering on Quebec), they seem to be headed for progressive disappearance or at least an appreciable reduction in numbers. We feel that such a prospect should not be ignored, since it would mean that the survival of the Francophone community in Canada will be increasingly confined to the province of Quebec. This province is, therefore, assuming a strategic importance, which is why we deemed it useful to examine the factors that determine the language balance in Quebec, particularly in the near future.

³ When we refer to "origin" we mean what the Canadian Censuses call *ethnic origin*. It is determined by the country or background of the forebear who came to settle in America, taking into account only male ancestors. Obviously, this fails to reflect the entire cultural inheritance of an individual. For instance, one may have three grandparents of German origin and one of British origin. If the paternal grandfather is the one who is of British origin, he alone will determine the individual's ethnic origin. However, it may be considered that any resulting inaccuracies are largely self-cancelling.

EVOLUTION OF THE LANGUAGE GROUPS IN CANADA

The only information available to us to retrace the evolution of the language groups in Canada is that derived from the Canadian censuses, which began collecting information in 1921 on the mother tongue of citizens. Chart 2.1 shows the percentage of people of English, French and other mother tongues in the Canadian population. The progression of the curves is irregular because the percentage in each language group is subject to the influence of a number of factors, which we shall discuss later. However, some elementary explanations come to mind immediately. It will be seen that during a strong wave of immigration (for instance from 1921 to 1931, and from 1951 to 1961), the percentage of "other" languages increased at the expense of the two major languages.⁴ However, this group of other languages tends to decrease steadily unless it is constantly reinforced by a strong influx of immigrants, because the children of these immigrants progressively adopt English or French as their mother tongue.

It is easy to check this systematic erosion of languages other than English or French, by a closer look at the evolution of certain language groups whose immigration goes back far enough for the phenomenon to have had time to make an impact. Chart 2.2 shows that this applies to Yiddish, Polish, the Scandinavian languages and Ukrainian. Italian does not show the same decline because this language group has been constantly reinforced since 1951 by large-scale immigration.

We pointed out that very many descendants of these groups adopt English or French. In fact almost all of them adopt English, and that is the main cause for the increase of the English-language group, which is bound to continue despite a very substantial decrease in the group of British origin. We shall deal with this a little later.

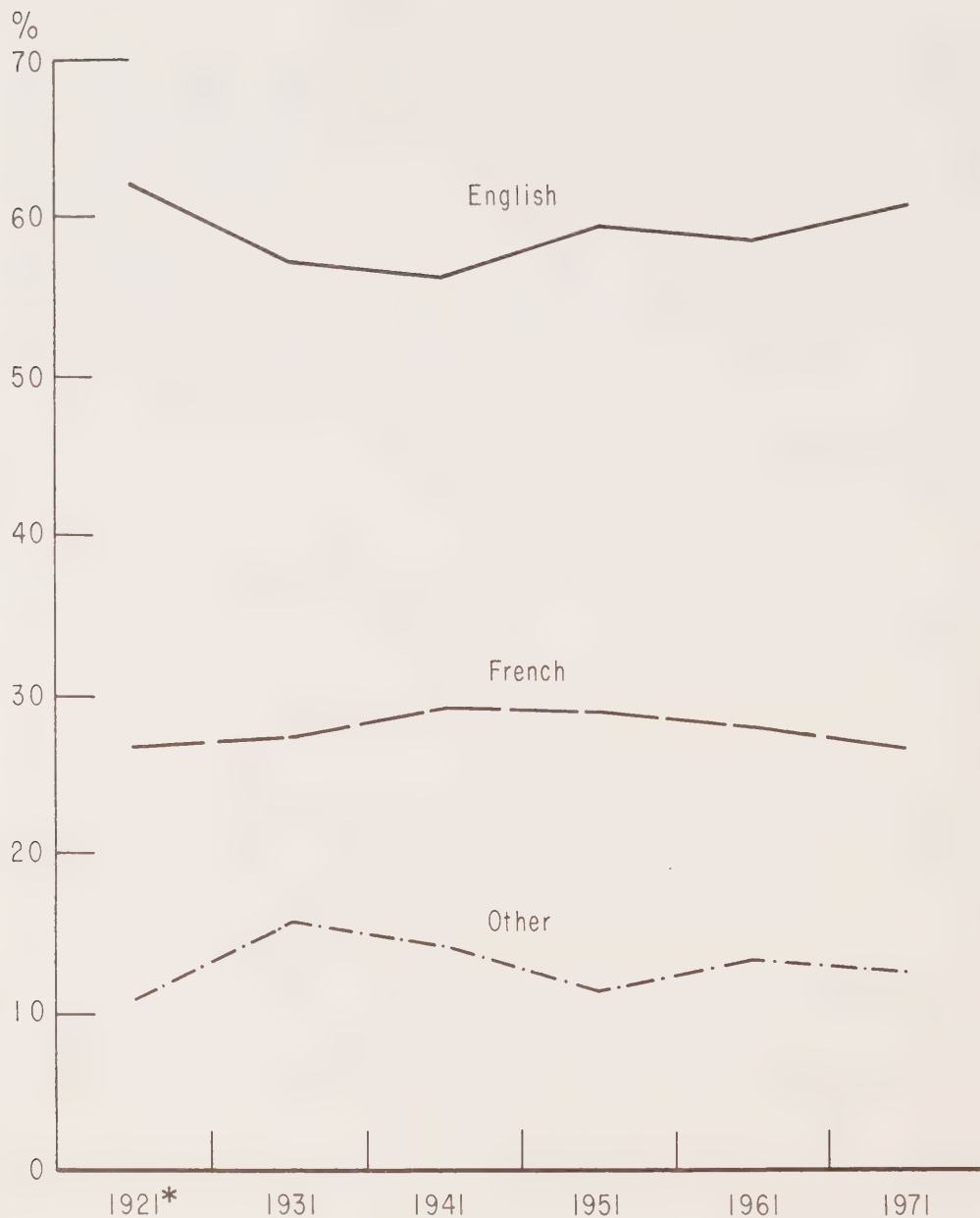
The French-language group, for its part, has been losing ground since 1951, when the balance which had been maintained for 80 years was upset. Between 1871 and 1951, the French-speaking group had maintained its relative importance at approximately 30 per cent. Despite a fairly substantial emigration to the United States this group had, until 1951, been able to make up for strong non-French-speaking immigration by a rather exceptional birth rate. However, this high reproduction rate is now a thing of the past, and the French-mother-tongue group has been dwindling for 20 years.

Having considered the factors involved in broad outline, we shall now take a closer look at them.

⁴Between 1921 and 1931, the exception was French, which registered a slight increase. This is no doubt due to the fact that the 1921 percentages only include persons above the age of 10. In view of the particularly significant proportion of the under-10 age group among Francophones at that time, the percentage of persons whose mother tongue was French would have been higher in 1921 if children below the age of 10 had been included.

CHART 2.1

PERCENTAGE REPRESENTED BY VARIOUS MOTHER TONGUE
GROUPS IN THE CANADIAN POPULATION ⁽¹⁾,
FROM 1921 TO 1971



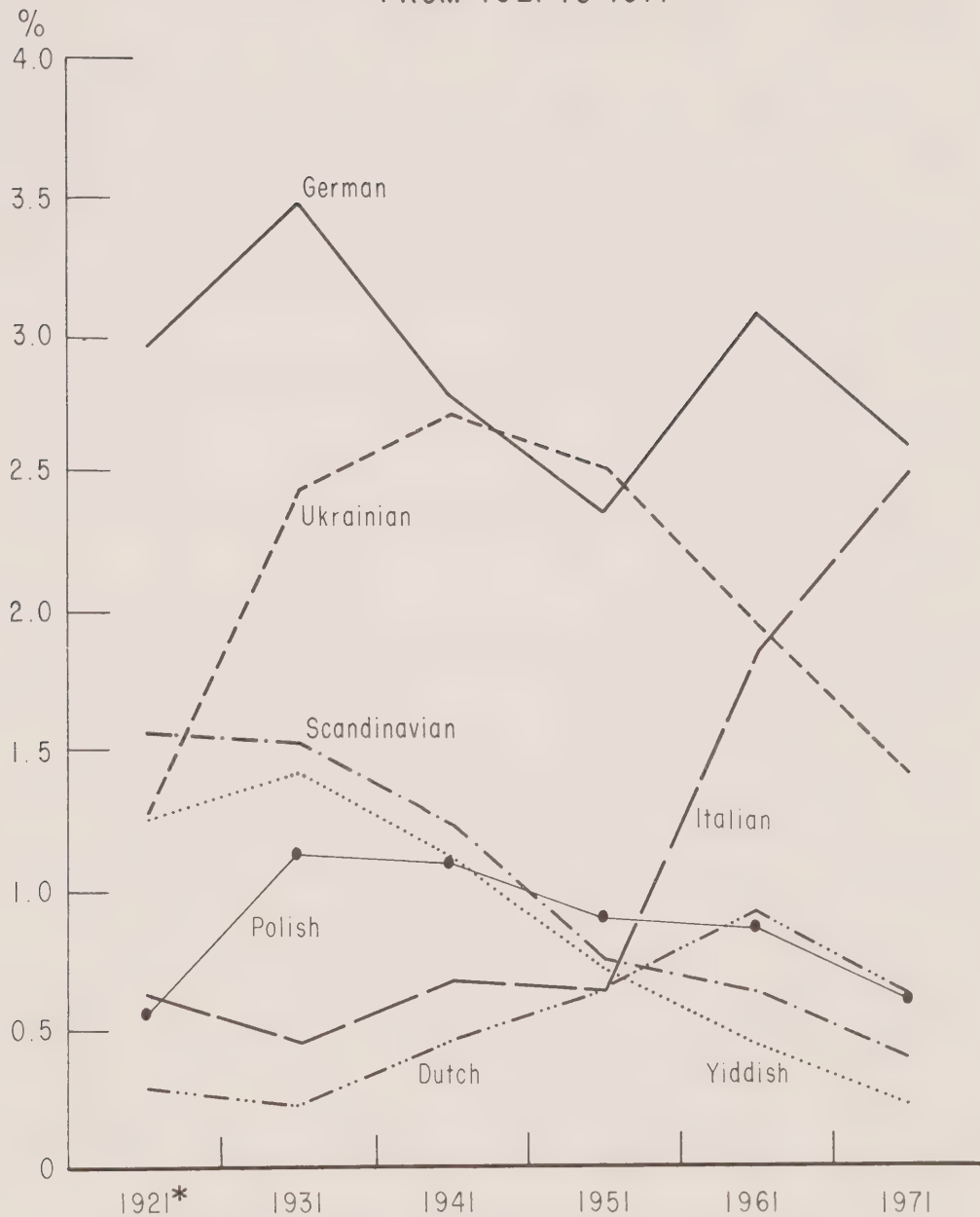
*THE POPULATION UNDER THE AGE OF 10 WAS NOT INCLUDED IN 1921.

(1) NEWFOUNDLAND EXCLUDED PRIOR TO 1951.

SOURCE: Canada census.

CHART 2.2

PERCENTAGE REPRESENTED BY VARIOUS MOTHER TONGUE
GROUPS IN THE CANADIAN POPULATION⁽¹⁾,
FROM 1921 TO 1971



*THE POPULATION UNDER THE AGE OF 10 WAS NOT INCLUDED IN 1921

(1) NEWFOUNDLAND EXCLUDED PRIOR TO 1951.

SOURCE: Canada census.

The Evolution of the Ethnic Groups

At the start, the mother tongue of Canadians is determined by the country of origin of the immigrants who come to settle in our country. Logically, one should analyse the flow of immigration and emigration according to ethnic origin to arrive at an assessment of the influence of this factor. However, since the number of emigrants according to ethnic origin is not known, we must make do with what may be considered as the result of these two migratory flows: the number of individuals enumerated in Canada, according to ethnic origin. This number is the product of past immigration and emigration, and the natural increase of the ethnic group in question.

Chart 2.3 shows the percentages of the three ethnic categories: British, French, and all others. Thanks to Canadian census records, they can be traced back to 1871. Some very clear trends emerge: (a) the British percentage fell, from 60.3 to 44.6 per cent; (b) the French hovered around 30 per cent until 1961; (c) the other ethnic groups increased from 8.7 per cent in 1871 to 26.7 per cent in 1971. The British lost an average of 1.5 per cent per decade to the third group.⁵ In a study undertaken for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the authors summed up this development, as follows:

“It was as if, out of 100 Canadians, 15 Britishers had been replaced by three Russians or Ukrainians, 2 Poles, 2 Italians, 2 Scandinavians, 1 Dutchman, 1 Jew and another 4 persons of various origins”.⁶

Although they are the largest component of the “third group”, the Germans are not mentioned here because, throughout this period, they retained the same relative importance, though with fluctuations of about 6 per cent.

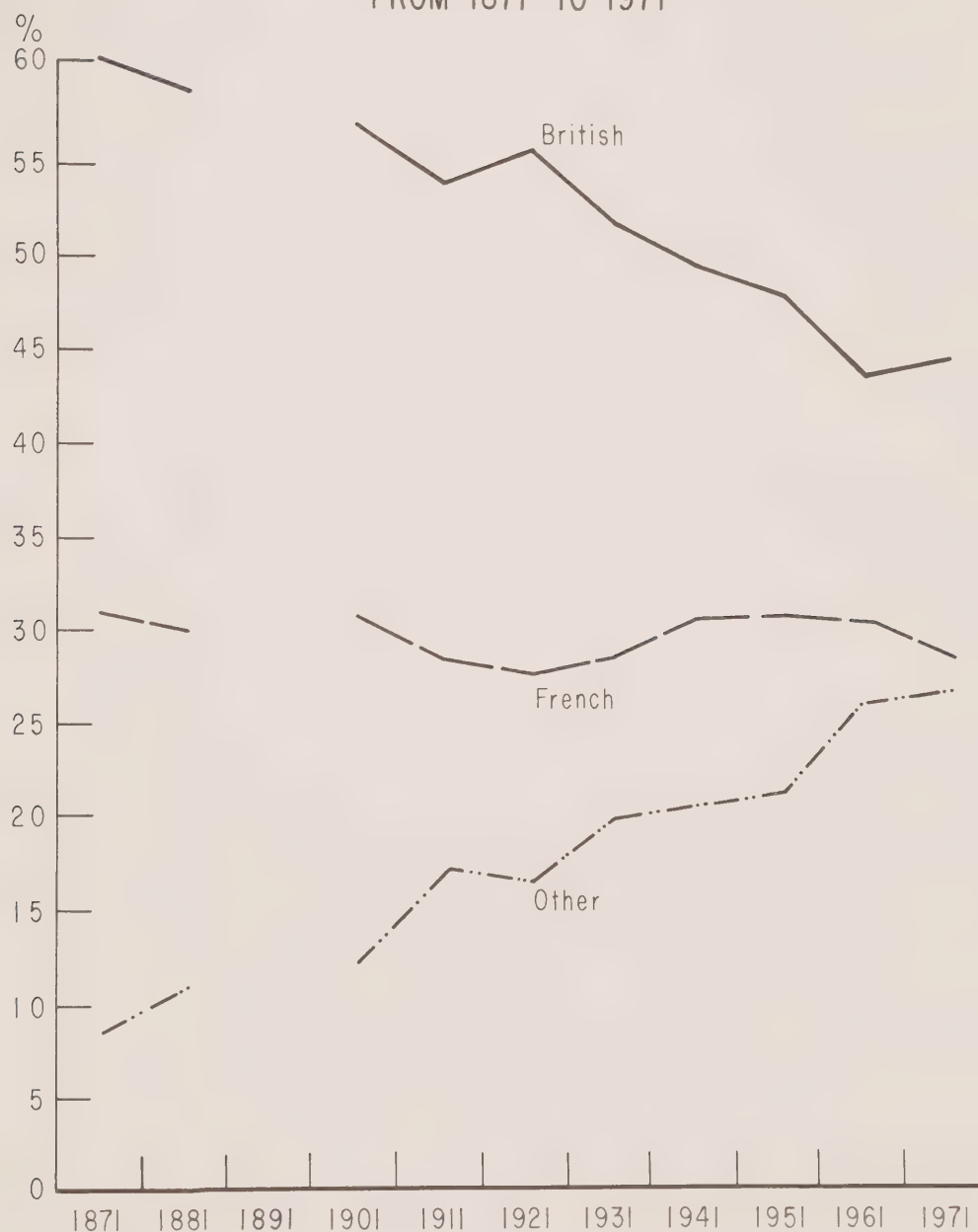
The convergence of the curves in Chart 2.3 will be noticed immediately. By 1971, the third group had almost caught up with the French group, and by 1977 it will probably have overtaken it. It might be tempting to extrapolate these century-old trends to arrive at a forecast of the future composition of the Canadian population. However, it would be unwise to yield to this impulse because one of these trends, in particular, will not continue: that of the percentage of Canadians of French origin, which dropped from 30.4 per cent of the total population in 1961 to 28.6 per cent, in 1971. It seems certain that, as in the case of the British, this decrease will continue fairly regularly; this is a point that needs to be stressed, because it involves upsetting a century-old balance.

Indeed, a similar decrease did take place in the past, between 1901 and 1911, when a very strong influx of immigrants had the effect of reducing the percentage of the French ethnic group, from 30.7 to 28.5 per cent. But at that time, this group was so prolific that it was eventually able to recover the lost ground, when immigration declined (particularly between 1931 and 1941). However, this high birth rate has now virtually disappeared, and the chances of a similar recovery in the future are very poor. It is, therefore, legitimate to think that henceforth the group of French

⁵ The expression “third group” will be used frequently to designate the aggregate of minorities of neither French nor British origin or, from the language point of view, those who are neither English nor French.

⁶ Hubert Charbonneau, Jacques Henripin and Walter Martens, *Etudes des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques au Canada*, an unpublished report prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, chap. 1, p. 2.

CHART 2.3
 PERCENTAGE REPRESENTED BY VARIOUS ETHNIC
 GROUPS IN THE CANADIAN POPULATION ⁽¹⁾,
 FROM 1871 TO 1971



(1) NEWFOUNDLAND EXCLUDED PRIOR TO 1951.

SOURCE: Canada census.

origin will share the fate of the British group.⁷

We have attempted to forecast how the proportion of the three ethnic groups will develop from now until the year 2001. It would take too long to explain all the details of the calculations; however, the premises on which we based them are as follows:

a) Natural growth:

	1971-1981	1981-1991	1991-2001
British	10%	8%	7%
French	11%	9%	7%
Others	11%	9%	7%

b) Net migrations per decade:

British	:	+	100,000	to	+	230,000
French	:	-	80,000	to	-	50,000
Others	:	+	400,000	to	+	700,000

By using various methods to combine these figures, we obtain the following percentages for the year 2001, representing the relative importance of each ethnic group within the body of the Canadian population:

British	:	41.7	to	43.5%
French	:	25.4	to	26.8%
Others	:	29.7	to	32.4%

It is possible that the actual figures may exceed these limits, but this does not seem likely. This development is bound to have a considerable impact on language trends because of the adoptive language chosen by the members of the third group whose size is steadily escalating. However, before dealing with that aspect of the problem, we shall briefly demonstrate that the exceptionally high reproduction rate of the French group is now a thing of the past.

The End of the French Group's Above-average Fertility

We have already drawn attention to the role this exceptionally high reproduction rate has played in the past: on the whole, it enabled the French group to maintain its relative importance despite the arrival of large numbers of immigrants of whom very few were of French origin. There is a very easy way to illustrate the extent of this exceptionally high birth rate, as well as its virtual disappearance: the 1961 Census established the average number of children born to

⁷ The increase in the relative importance of the British group between 1961 and 1971 appears to be altogether abnormal and due to errors in declarations on ethnic origin in the Census. (See Appendix A.)

women in the course of their married life, broken down by age and mother tongue of the women. We reproduced these figures in Table 2.1, adding the ratio of Anglophone and Francophone fertility.

TABLE 2.1
LIVE BIRTHS PER MARRIED WOMAN, IN CANADA,
ACCORDING TO AGE IN 1961 AND MOTHER TONGUE.

Age in 1961	Mother tongue			Ratio English/French
	English	French	Other	
25-29 years	2.20	2.34	1.92	0.94
30-34 "	2.71	3.18	2.42	0.85
35-39 "	2.90	3.92	2.72	0.74
40-44 "	2.88	4.34	2.98	0.66
45-49 "	2.68	4.33	3.03	0.62
50-54 "	2.58	4.61	3.17	0.56
55-59 "	2.69	5.05	3.46	0.53
60-64 "	2.90	5.58	3.81	0.52
65 years and over	3.23	6.37	4.70	0.51

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1961 Census, Bulletin 4.1-8 table H9.

This proved to be very informative: in 1961, French-speaking women aged 65 and over had had an average of twice as many children as English-speaking women, namely, 6.4, as against 3.2. These women had had most of their children between 1895 and 1930. Thus, at the very time when immigration was at its peak, this coincided with compensation by means of a reproduction surplus. This exceptionally high fertility continued at almost the same level among women five years younger (60 to 64 years in 1961): the ratio of English to French was 0.52. In the following age groups, the ratio progressively increased and was equal to 0.74 for women aged 35-39. The French-speaking women of that generation, who had already had nearly all their children, still registered a birth-rate surplus of one-third.

Interpretation of these data is a little more difficult in the case of younger women because they were still far from having produced all their offspring. Nonetheless, it is obvious that the high reproduction rate of the French-speaking women continued to dwindle, with the ratio gradually approaching par. Moreover, this trend was confirmed by another source of information concerning the reproduction rate during the years 1966-1971. We refer to the ratio of children 0 to 4 years of age (born between 1966 and 1971) to married women aged 15 to 44 and

living with their husband. Unpublished information from Statistics Canada yielded the following results classified according to language usually spoken at home:

- Fertility of married English-speaking women: 660 children per 1,000 women.
- Fertility of married French-speaking women: 653 children per 1,000 women.
- Fertility of married women of other language groups: 634 children per 1,000 women.

We have, so far, always referred to the fertility of married women. By the same process, we can obtain a good idea of the fertility of all women of child-bearing age, (married or otherwise). Numbers of children aged 0 to 4, born to all women aged 15 to 44, are as follows:

- Fertility of English-speaking women: 396 children per 1,000 women.
- Fertility of French-speaking women: 359 children per 1,000 women.
- Fertility of women of other language groups: 455 children per 1,000 women.

It would seem, therefore, that French-speaking women have ceased to have more children than the others, and nothing warrants the assumption that they will, even partially, equal their performance of yesteryear. That being so, the scope of immigration and the language chosen by these new Canadians becomes a determining factor regarding the relative future standing of the language groups. We shall now deal with that aspect.

Language Mobility

We apply the term *language mobility* to individuals whose mother tongue, or home language, no longer corresponds to their ethnic origin. This is a very significant phenomenon, incontestably borne out by the following facts. According to the 1971 Census, 44.6 per cent of the Canadian population was of British ethnic origin. Yet, English was the mother tongue of 60.1 per cent, and English was mainly spoken at home by 67.0 per cent. On the other hand, 26.7 per cent of Canadians had an ethnic origin other than British or French, yet only 13 per cent had retained a language other than English or French as their mother tongue, and only 7.3 per cent retained one of these as their usual home language. We may say that half of the members of the third ethnic group had a mother tongue other than the one corresponding to their origin, while nearly three-quarters usually spoke at home a language other than their language of origin.

In absolute numbers, these phenomena produced the results shown in Table 2.2. In these exchanges, the English-language group clearly comes out as the winner, with substantial gains. Considering the population of the British ethnic group, language mobility has given English a surplus of 35 per cent; of the 3.3 million persons responsible for this increase, 12 per cent belong to the French ethnic group and 88 per cent to the third group.

Basically, therefore, this language movement is due to the third group, which

TABLE 2.2
POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND
MOTHER TONGUE, CANADA, 1971

Ethnic origin		Mother tongue	Gain (+) or loss (-)
British:	9,624,120	English: 12,967,440	+ 3,343,320
French:	6,180,120	French: 5,792,710	- 387,410
Other:	5,764,070	Other: 2,808,160	- 2,955,910

Source: Census of Canada.

tends to espouse the English language, reinforced by a fraction of Canadians of French origin who also become anglicized. Table 2.3 gives a breakdown of the three ethnic groups according to mother tongue, and eloquently illustrates the powerful attraction of the English language in Canada. Almost 98 per cent of the British group remained faithful to their native language. More than two-thirds of the 150,000 whose mother tongue is French are found in Quebec. The opposite is, of course, true of persons of French origin who became English-speaking: this involves some 645,000 of whom 86 per cent live outside the province of Quebec. We shall shortly come back to this anglicization of persons of French origin outside Quebec. This phenomenon is significant, because it threatens the survival of French-speaking groups living outside their province of origin.

Table 2.3 contains information that is significant in the development of Canada's language groups, i.e. on the choice made by members of the third group with regard to the country's two official languages. If we consider mother tongue only, we find that many did not adopt either English or French, which is quite normal. One can hardly change one's mother tongue in a lifetime, and the immigrant's mother tongue can only be his native language. This applies to 47 per cent of the third group, most of whom were born outside Canada. The children or grandchildren will choose English or French as their mother tongue. A little over three million had already made that choice in 1971 and 96 per cent of them opted for English.⁸ The third group's polarization toward English is a weighty factor in the ascendancy of the English language.

We can illustrate this easily. Between 1961 and 1971, the natural growth rate (that is the surplus of births over deaths) of Francophones was slightly higher than that of the Anglophones.⁹ However, during that decade, the growth of the population speaking English as their mother tongue was 21.6 per cent, whereas that of people speaking French as their mother tongue was only 13.1 per cent. In absolute terms, the increase of 670,000 Francophones was almost entirely explained by natural growth. As for the additional 2,307,000 Anglophones, slightly more than

⁸ Even in the province of Quebec, 64 per cent of the third group opted for English.

⁹ The growth rate was 12 per cent for Anglophones and 13 per cent for Francophones.

TABLE 2.3
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATIONS OF THREE ETHNIC GROUPS
ACCORDING TO MOTHER TONGUE, CANADA, 1971.

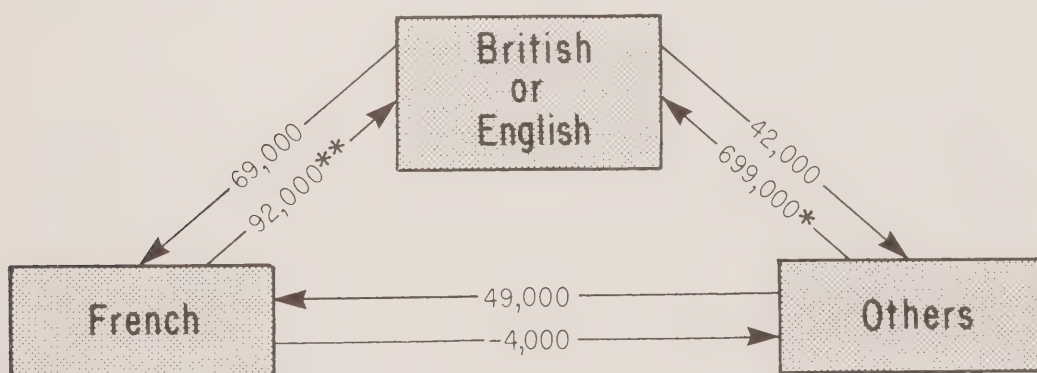
Ethnic groups	All languages	Mother Tongue		
		English	French	Other
British Absolute number Percentage	9,624,120 100.0	9,402,135 97.7	148,635 1.5	73,350 0.8
French Absolute number Percentage	6,180,120 100.0	644,720 10.4	5,516,915 89.3	18,485 0.3
Other Absolute number Percentage	5,764,070 100.0	2,920,585 50.7	127,160 2.2	2,716,325 47.1
All Groups Absolute number Percentage	21,568,310 100.0	12,967,440 60.1	5,792,710 26.9	2,808,160 13.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, unpublished data.

half of the increase was due to natural growth; net immigration must have been roughly 100,000 to 200,000; there remains a balance of approximately one million which can only be explained by language mobility. That is to say that almost one million people whose parents did not speak English as their mother tongue had adopted English as their mother tongue. We estimate that roughly 90 per cent of these belonged to the third group.

It is hard to be very precise. The Censuses of 1961 and 1971 provided data which can, in theory, be used to make calculations. On the basis of that information, we estimate that 700,000 individuals of "other" origins (neither British nor French) adopted English as their mother tongue between 1961 and 1971. However, 700,000 seems to be a low estimate. To these must be added at least 200,000 people of "other" origins who became anglicized and stated in the 1971 Census that they were of British origin. That is a hypothesis that could not be checked but there is no other explanation for some results of the 1971 Census.

Language mobility does not only concern individuals of "other" origins who adopt English; exchanges take place in every direction. Despite our reservations about the 1971 Census it is useful to give an estimate of these exchanges based on the censuses of 1961 and 1971. The results are shown in the following diagram.



*THIS NUMBER SHOULD PROBABLY BE INCREASED BY 200,000 TO 300,000, TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THOSE WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES OF BRITISH ORIGIN IN 1971.

**THIS NUMBER SHOULD PROBABLY BE INCREASED BY ROUGHLY 100,000 TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THOSE WHO, 1971, CLAIMED THEY WERE OF BRITISH ORIGIN.

If we hold to the estimates in our diagram, the total net gain of the French group would be 30,000; for the English group it would be 680,000. But the fact is that French probably suffered a net loss of approximately 100,000, whereas the net gain of English would be at least a million.

Is it possible to foresee the breakdown, according to mother tongue, of the Canadian population in the year 2001? In view of the complex factors involved and the number of variations, the task is not an easy one. Nevertheless, we attempted a forecast, using five different methods. While no description is given of the methods used, a summary of the results obtained is given in Table 2.4. The averages seem

quite plausible and continue the trend of the curves in Chart 2.1. The Anglophone group would increase from 60.1 per cent in 1971 to 66.1 in 2001; the Francophones would drop from 26.9 to 24.0 per cent; other languages also would lose ground, from 13.0 to 9.9 per cent.

TABLE 2.4

FORECAST OF LANGUAGE GROUP*
PERCENTAGES IN CANADA IN 2001

Language group	Extreme percentages	Average percentage	Percentage in 1971
English	62.1 – 70.5	66.1	60.1
French	21.4 – 25.7	24.0	26.9
Other	7.3 – 12.4	9.9	13.0

* i.e., mother tongue.

There is an indication whereby the probability of these average forecasts can be checked. For the first time, the 1971 Census gave a breakdown of the population according to the language usually spoken in the home. In general, we can say that the language most frequently spoken in the home today will be the mother tongue of the next generation. For instance, if English is spoken in a home today, the chances are that this will be the mother tongue of the family's young children and, therefore, that of the adults of the year 2000. Here is the breakdown of the Canadian population, in 1971, according to home language (language most frequently spoken in the home):

English: 67.0 per cent
French: 25.7 per cent
Other: 7.3 per cent

This hypothesis would be fairly correct if there were no migratory movements to upset the calculations. This applies particularly to "other" languages. This group is swelled by a considerable number of immigrants, and we can therefore expect a higher percentage than that indicated for the home language in 1971: our average forecast shows 9.9 per cent, while persons who in 1971 mainly spoke "another" language accounted for only 7.3 per cent of the population. Consequently, in 2001 English and French mother tongues will be spoken a little less than percentages for home language in 1971 would indicate.

We can go further and try to estimate home languages around the year 2000. If the discrepancies between mother tongue and home language that were observed in 1971, continue in 2001, we should have the following breakdown according to

home language:

English: 73.0 per cent

French: 23.0 per cent

Other: 4.0 per cent

These are rough estimates, and the percentage of “other” languages may be on the low side. However, this figure should not go beyond 6 per cent, and the percentage for English will very probably be higher than 70 per cent.

THE EROSION OF FRENCH OUTSIDE QUEBEC

We have seen that the relative importance of Francophones will diminish between now and 2000. Out of an estimated population of 30 million in 2000, a little over seven million will have French as their mother tongue but 300,000 of these people will no longer use French, even at home. French will certainly not have disappeared in Canada, but there is a probability that Francophones living outside Quebec will become less and less numerous — and that their relative numbers will become a negligible percentage of the total population. The trend is already there, and from one Census to the next, we find a steadily increasing concentration of Francophones, according to mother tongue, in the province of Quebec: 80.9 per cent in 1931, 83.3 per cent in 1971.

Some areas may continue to hold their ground, such as the northern part of New Brunswick and that part of Ontario bordering on the province of Quebec. Elsewhere, and even in the two areas we have just mentioned, the anglicization process is expected to extend to a large number of the remaining Francophone population.

We shall now look at recent trends. As shown in Table 3.1, the relative number of persons with English as their mother tongue increased since 1951 in all provinces except Newfoundland, Quebec and British Columbia, where the percentage remained more or less stable; and Ontario, where it dropped appreciably, because of the high proportion of immigrants in this province. On the other hand, the percentage of persons with French as their mother tongue declined in most areas. It remained stable or increased slightly in only two provinces, where the number of Francophones is very small: Newfoundland, where they account for only 0.7 per cent of the population, and British Columbia, where they represent 1.8 per cent.

In the Territories and in five provinces, persons whose mother tongue is French represent five per cent or less of the population; in another three provinces, this percentage reaches six or seven. Only in two provinces are their numbers significant: Quebec (80.7 per cent) and New Brunswick (34.0 per cent). We should add, though, that many of these people cannot really be considered true Francophones: French is indeed their mother tongue, but it is no longer the language usually spoken in the home. We shall see this if we compare the percentage of those whose mother tongue is French with the percentages of those whose home language is French, on the basis of 1971 Census data, as shown in Table 3.2.

If we take home language as the criterion, none of the provinces except New Brunswick and Quebec has five per cent of its population Francophone. If we compare mother tongue and home language, the latter shows a loss of over 30 per cent in seven provinces and the Territories. If we take the home language and not the mother tongue as a criterion, we no longer find 83.3 per cent, but 88.5 per cent of the Francophones concentrated in Quebec. In 1971, French was the home language of 5,546,000 persons: 4,870,000 of them lived in Quebec; the remaining 676,000 were mainly concentrated in Ontario (352,000) and New Brunswick (199,000), leaving only 124,000 in the remaining provinces.

TABLE 3.1

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION, IN CANADA AND IN EACH PROVINCE, WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS ENGLISH, FRENCH OR ANOTHER LANGUAGE, 1951, 1961 AND 1971.

Area	English			French			Other		
	1951	1961	1971	1951	1961	1971	1951	1961	1971
Canada	59.1	58.5	60.1	29.0	28.1	26.9	11.9	13.4	13.0
Newfoundland	98.9	98.6	98.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.8
Prince Edward Island	90.7	91.3	92.3	8.6	7.6	6.6	0.7	1.1	1.1
Nova Scotia	91.6	92.2	93.0	6.1	5.3	5.0	2.3	2.5	2.0
New Brunswick	63.1	63.3	64.7	35.9	35.2	34.0	1.0	1.5	1.3
Quebec	13.8	13.2	13.1	82.5	81.1	80.7	3.7	5.7	6.1
Ontario	81.7	77.5	77.5	7.4	6.8	6.3	10.9	15.7	16.2
Manitoba	60.3	63.4	67.1	7.0	6.6	6.1	32.7	30.0	26.8
Saskatchewan	62.2	68.9	74.1	4.4	3.9	3.4	33.4	27.2	22.5
Alberta	69.0	72.2	77.6	3.6	3.1	2.9	27.4	24.7	19.5
British Columbia	82.7	80.9	82.7	1.7	1.6	1.8	15.6	17.5	15.5
Yukon and Northwest Territories	41.5	50.6	59.5	3.5	3.8	3.0	55.0	45.6	37.5

Sources: Canadian Censuses

TABLE 3.2
PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION WITH FRENCH
AS MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE

Area	French as mother tongue	French as home language	Ratio of home language to mother tongue
Canada	26.9	25.7	0.957
Newfoundland	0.7	0.4	0.628
Prince Edward Island	6.6	4.0	0.599
Nova Scotia	5.0	3.4	0.692
New Brunswick	34.0	31.4	0.923
Quebec	80.8	80.8	1.000
Ontario	6.3	4.6	0.732
Manitoba	6.1	4.0	0.654
Saskatchewan	3.4	1.7	0.504
Alberta	2.9	1.4	0.486
British Columbia	1.7	0.5	0.342
Territories	3.0	1.3	0.441

Source: Censuses of Canada

The situation is even worse, however. The Francophones living outside Quebec are rapidly becoming assimilated. In fact, if we follow the evolution of this phenomenon over a fairly long period, we find that an increasingly large percentage of Canadians of French origin have lost their mother tongue. For 1931 and 1971, the percentage of those whose mother tongue became English, according to the Canadian Censuses is as shown in Table 3.3, by province.

TABLE 3.3
PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF FRENCH ORIGIN
WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS ENGLISH, CANADA,
1931 AND 1971

Area	1931	1971
Canada	4.7%	10.4
Newfoundland	—	80.3
Prince Edward Island	22.6	54.7
Nova Scotia	32.0	53.9
New Brunswick	5.0	12.3
Quebec	0.6	1.9
Ontario	22.1	39.3
Manitoba	12.1	35.5
Saskatchewan	18.9	47.4
Alberta	25.5	54.1
British Columbia	50.4	65.4

Source: Censuses of Canada

In 40 years, percentages in most cases have more than doubled. If we observe this phenomenon at 10-year intervals, we see that this increase more or less follows a geometric progression.¹⁰ At this rate, 25 per cent of Francophones in New Brunswick will be assimilated by 2001, and this percentage will exceed 60 per cent in all the other provinces except Quebec, where it will probably not go beyond five per cent.

These estimates refer to the mother tongue, but we have seen that the assimilation rate was even higher when home language was considered. Before 1971, the Canadian Census did not provide information on the factor. In his master's thesis,¹¹ Robert Maheu developed a most ingenious method for estimating the per centage of Canadians of French origin whose home language is English. His estimate for 1951 and 1961 for Canadians of French origin living outside Quebec, and his forecast (average hypothesis) for the years 1971, 1981 and 1991, are:

¹⁰ This can be checked in Charbonneau, Henripin, Mertens, *Etudes des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques au Canada*, chap. 5.

¹¹ Robert Maheu, *Les francophones au Canada, 1941-1991*, master's thesis presented to the Department of Demography of the University of Montreal in 1968. The major part of this study was published under the title *Les francophones au Canada, 1941-1991*, (Montreal: Parti pris, 1970).

1951	: 35.7%
1961	: 45.0%
1971	: 54.3%
1981	: 63.6%
1991	: 72.9%

We can check his predictions for 1971 with the new Census data. These give 52.4 per cent, which corresponds with Maheu's low forecast (52.6 per cent). If we extrapolate this trend, we get 71.0 per cent for the year 2001.

We are inclined to believe that the latter percentage is on the low side, but it does demonstrate the extent of the problem. Maheu also forecast the number of Francophones per province up to 1991. The figures according to his hypothesis No. 5 are given in Table 3.4, and can be compared with the 1971 Census data.

TABLE 3.4
POPULATION WITH FRENCH AS HOME LANGUAGE
(Thousands of Persons)

Areas	1961	1971		1991
		Census	Maheu	Maheu
Maritimes without N.B.	36.8	34.9	33.5	24.8
New Brunswick	201.9	199.1	200.8	180.8
Ontario	357.3	352.5	378.7	402.5
Prairies and B.C.	117.3	89.7	110.8	84.1
Total	713.3	676.2	723.8	692.2

From Maheu's forecasts, we selected the hypothesis that was closest to the data provided by the 1971 Census. His figures seem to be somewhat over-estimated, but even so, the Francophone population is shown as decreasing in all areas, except in Ontario, where it is bolstered considerably by migrants from Quebec.

There seems to be no doubt that the Francophone population outside Quebec will diminish in the future. We can expect that around the year 2000, between 92 and 95 per cent of the Francophones in Canada will live in the province of Quebec. In the other provinces, their percentage of the entire population will in all areas be less than four or even three per cent, except in New Brunswick, where it will probably be between 25 and 30 per cent.

One may ask whether the decline of the French-speaking population outside Quebec is unavoidable. Without wishing to sound too pessimistic, we do not see how it can be stopped. The main factor is assimilation by the English environment. In 1971, more than one-quarter of Canadians with French as their *mother* tongue, living outside Quebec, no longer spoke that language at home, although it was the first language they had learned as children. The word "erosion" hardly seems too strong a term to describe this process.

As in cases of soil erosion, some rocky outcrops remain, notably in two areas: (a) the northern part of New Brunswick, where we find about 200,000 Francophones in seven counties, with a very low assimilation rate; (b) in the 10 counties of Ontario that border on the province of Quebec, where about 300,000 Francophones continue to use French, in spite of increasing, though moderate, assimilation.

These Francophone communities are far from becoming extinct and they will certainly not disappear between now and the beginning of the next century. However, like the rocks, they too will wear away, and their place in Canada's family of languages will become steadily smaller.

THE CASE OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

On the basis of our study it is obvious that Quebec is the only province where the French language has a chance of flourishing. Everywhere else, Francophones will lose ground and, in most cases, their absolute number will progressively decline. But can we at least be sure that in that province the Francophone group will maintain its predominance? At first glance, it is hard to see how such a substantial majority could, within 30 or 40 years, disappear; today almost 81 per cent of Quebec's population speaks French. But several commentators during the past few years have cautioned that a considerable reduction, if not a reversal, of this majority is possible.

With the help of Table 4.1 let us first examine the trends in ethnic composition since 1871, and in linguistic composition since 1921. The proportion of Britons has been halved (20.3 to 10.6 per cent), while the third group jumped from 1.7 to 10.4 per cent, matching in importance the group of British origin. As for the mother tongues whose development can be traced back 50 years, French has shown a very great stability. The proportion of Anglophones has been decreasing, but not as fast as that of the British. The other languages have been fluctuating: their importance decreased until 1951 but the strong immigration of more recent years has increased their percentage over the last 20 years.

During the last decade there have been some rather interesting results: the percentage of people of French origin has dropped 1.6 percentage points while the proportion of Francophones has barely decreased (only 0.4 points). Britons, on the other hand, have maintained their relative importance, and so did the English language. In fact, the evolution of British and French origins has occurred exactly as if the natural growth of the three groups had been identical and the third group had benefited from a net immigration equal to two per cent of Quebec's total population, while the net migration for the other two groups was zero. Obviously, the real situation was more complex; but we just wanted to show that the drop in the proportion of people of French origin *could* be entirely explained by a net migration of roughly 120,000 people (in the third group).

Table 4.1 enables us to arrive at a first assessment of the gains made by the French and English mother tongues in relation to the corresponding ethnic groups since 1931. Table 4.2 lists in percentages the difference between mother tongue and ethnic origin. These are the percentage differences, in absolute terms; taking into account the relative importance of each group, the gains of English have been much more substantial. For example, in 1971, the surplus of Anglophones over persons of British origin represented 148,790 people out of 640,045, that is 23 per cent; for French, the surplus was 107,050 out of 4,759,360, or only 2.2 per cent. The attraction of English is thus 10 times stronger than that of French in the province of Quebec. Even in absolute numbers, the gains of English have been much more substantial: 149,000 compared with 107,000.

However, between 1961 and 1971, French seems to have made unusual gains: the surplus of Francophones over people of French origin jumped from 0.5 to 1.7 per cent. We will return to the events which might have happened during this

TABLE 4.1
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF QUEBEC'S
 POPULATION ACCORDING TO ETHNIC ORIGIN
 (1871 to 1971) AND MOTHER TONGUE (1921 to 1971)

Year	Ethnic origin			Mother tongue		
	British	French	Other	English	French	Other
1871	20.3	78.0	1.7	—	—	—
1881	19.1	79.1	1.8	—	—	—
1901	17.7	80.1	2.2	—	—	—
1911	15.7	80.0	4.3	—	—	—
1921	15.1	80.0	4.9	17.0*	79.2*	3.8*
1931	15.0	78.9	6.1	14.9	79.7	5.4
1941	13.6	80.9	5.5	14.1	81.6	4.3
1951	12.1	82.0	5.9	13.8	82.5	3.7
1961	10.8	80.6	8.6	13.2	81.1	5.7
1971	10.6	79.0	10.4	13.1	80.7	6.1

* Only the population aged 10 years and over
 Sources: Canada Censuses

TABLE 4.2
SURPLUS OF MOTHER TONGUE
OVER ETHNIC ORIGIN

	English	French
1931	- 0.1%	+ 0.8%
1941	+ 0.5	+ 0.7
1951	+ 1.7	+ 0.5
1961	+ 2.4	+ 0.5
1971	+ 2.5	+ 1.7

Source: Census of Canada. 1971.

decade. But first, we shall consider all of the factors that were involved in the development of Quebec's language groups, with particular emphasis on the relative standing of the French group, since we want to find out whether, at least in their bailiwick, French-speakers are likely to preserve their dominant demographic position.

1. Factors Involved

In principle, the phenomena we have examined regarding all of Canada are duplicated in the province of Quebec. However, they are less extensive there, and thus the effect is not necessarily the same. We are going to review the principal factors: natural growth, language mobility, and migrations.

(a) *Natural growth.* The determining factor here is the birth rate. In fact, the mortality rate of the groups is not very different, and what differences there are can play only a minor role. Table 4.3 gives the birth rates of the three ethnic groups for two recent periods.¹² Britons have a markedly lower birth rate than the other groups; the French dropped to second place during the second period, but they have a slight edge over the combined total of the two other groups. This advantage is, however, almost zero now, and as for the future, it is likely that Francophones will have a birth rate roughly equal to that of the other Quebecers.¹³ Hence, at this time, there is no reason to believe that the differences in natural growth rates will play an important role in the future development of ethnic or linguistic groups except for Indians and Eskimos.

¹² Robert Maheu, *L'avenir des groupes linguistiques du Québec: l'aspect démographique*, paper submitted to the Conference on the Future of Quebec's Language Groups, held at the University of Montreal on November 24, 1973, and organized by the Demographers Association of Quebec.

¹³ Because of its particular age structure, the population of the third group generally has a slightly stronger birth rate. This is exclusively due to the high proportion of adults because couples of the third group do not have a greater reproduction rate than the Francophones.

TABLE 4.3
GROSS BIRTH RATE

	1961-1965	1966-1971
Britons	20.0	11.8
French	25.0	16.9
Others	23.5	20.0

(b) *Language mobility*. This factor also plays a role in Quebec because until now the net result of exchanges between ethnic groups and linguistic groups has been moderately favourable towards French, very favourable towards English, and very unfavourable towards other languages. The 1971 statistics in Table 4.4 confirm this. The gains (or losses) of each ethnic group can be established from the mother tongue as well as the usual language points of view. The results are given in Table 4.5. It can be seen that the English language has gained more than French, especially from the viewpoint of the language used. This means that even in Quebec, English has a stronger pull than French.

TABLE 4.4
POPULATION OF QUEBEC, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN
AND LINGUISTIC GROUP, 1971
(In thousands)

Ethnic origin Linguistic group	Ethnic Origin	Mother Tongue	Language Usually Spoken
British or English	640.0	788.8	887.9
French	4,759.4	4,866.4	4,870.1
Others	628.4	372.5	269.8

Source: Census of Canada, 1971.

These exchanges can be analysed more precisely thanks to the Census data concerning the distribution of each ethnic group according to mother tongue. The following diagram illustrates these movements. For example, the British group lost 105,700 people to the French-speakers, whereas the movement in the opposite direction was slightly weaker: 88,300. Hence among these two groups, the Francophones benefited. Obviously the "other" ethnic groups lost on all sides: they gave 10 times more than they got to the French and 30 times more to the

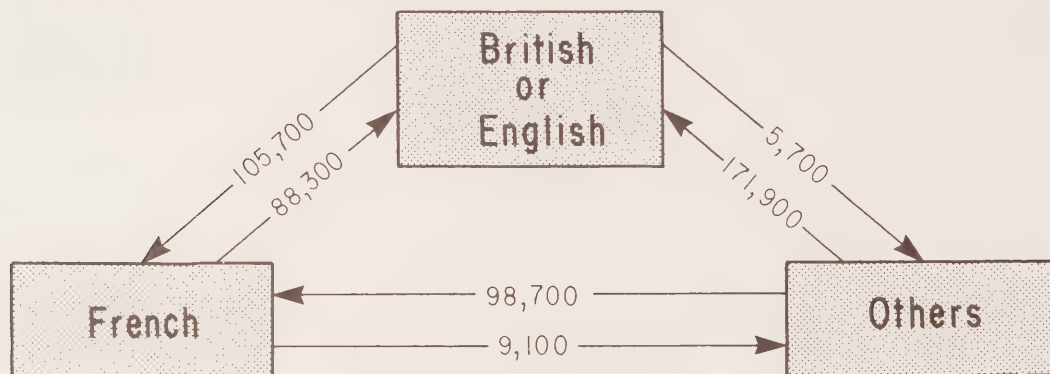
TABLE 4.5

LANGUAGE MOBILITY
(Gains or losses from point of view of mother
tongue and language used at home).

	Mother Tongue	Language Usually Spoken
English	+ 148,800	+ 247,900
French	+ 107,000	+ 111,400
Others	- 255,900	- 358,600

Source: Table 4.4.

Anglophones. This is the sensitive point of these exchanges: the "other" ethnic groups "surrendered" 1.7 Anglophones for each Francophone.



If a balance between languages is to be maintained in Quebec, these transfers should be quite different: they should be equal between British and French, which they are approximately, but the other ethnic groups should produce four Francophones for one Anglophone. We have just seen that instead of a ratio of four to one, the ratio is in fact one to nearly two. This problem must be examined more closely because it is precisely the language that these other ethnic groups will choose that threatens to decrease the French-speaking majority of Quebec.

In 1971, the mother tongue of 270,600 of the 628,400 people of "other" ethnic groups was English or French, in a proportion of 64 per cent English and 36 per cent French. In 1961, this ratio was 70 per cent English and 30 per cent French. Thus, there seems to have been a slight shift towards French.

It would be surprising if the members of the third group had begun to resist their strong tendency to opt for English. These people are mainly concentrated in the Montreal area. In the past, the only ethnic group that tended to opt for assimilation to French was the Italians. In the past few years they have sent most of

their children to English-language schools. But there is a much more convincing indication. When a process of assimilation towards a given language is under way, we find more people using it as the language usually spoken than as the mother tongue.¹⁴ It is easy to see why, from this very simple example: let us suppose that a couple of German immigrants decided to adopt English. They have two children, born in Montreal and who learned English from childhood. We thus have four people of German origin, two of whom (the children) have English as their mother tongue and all four of whom use it as their home language. If there were at present a movement of assimilation in favour of English, we should find more people whose home language is English than people whose mother tongue is English. And this is indeed what we find: in 1971, 887,900 Quebecers usually spoke English but only 788,800 of them had English as their mother tongue — a difference of 99,100. These are the people who are anglicized but whose mother tongue is not English.

The same does not apply to French: in 1971, 4,870,100 people usually spoke French but in nearly all cases (4,866,400) French was their mother tongue. The difference was only 3,700.

It seems that basically, nothing has changed in the manner in which members of the third group choose to adopt a new language. In the past, this group was not very substantial and its option for English was more than offset by the exceptionally high birth rate of Francophones. But this group seems to be becoming more and more substantial and the high French birth rate no longer exists. We must try to assess what influence that could have on the linguistic equilibrium of Quebec's population, taking into account the overall picture of migratory movements.

(c) *Migrations*. This is the most difficult factor to assess because of its considerable variations from one period to another. It is difficult enough to forecast the total migratory movements between provinces; but, in our case, we must consider these phenomena for each of the three ethnic groups. Due to the lack of data, we can only examine net migration — that is, the difference between immigration and emigration. Robert Maheu gives estimates for the last two decades in Table 4.6.

During these two periods, the net migrations of the British had been the most stable; the net movement of "other" origins dropped to almost one-half; but the most surprising fact is the transformation of a positive net immigration of 43,000 people of French origin (1951 to 1961) to a net emigration of 112,000 during the years 1961-1971. The last figure is remarkable, but it seems to be in line with recent estimates by Statistics Canada that have yet to be published.

Yet, such a net emigration is somewhat unusual, and it does not seem likely to hold true for the future. We are going to suppose that during the three decades to come, the net migratory movements will equal the average of the last two decades. Hence for each decade there would be:

¹⁴This argument has been borrowed from Robert Maheu's paper which has already been quoted.

British	:	+ 17,500
French	:	- 34,500
Others	:	+ 115,000
TOTAL	:	+ 93,000

TABLE 4.6
NET MIGRATION

Ethnic groups	1951-1961	1961-1971
British	+ 13,000	+ 22,000
French	+ 43,000	-112,000
Others	+ 150,000	+ 80,000
TOTAL	+ 206,000	- 20,000*

Source: Robert Maheu, *op. cit.*

* This figure differs from the one that is usually found because Maheu in his calculations took into account births that were not included by the registry because of their late declaration. The effect of this is to diminish the evaluation of the net migration or to render it negative.

Future Language Group Pattern

In 1971, the situation was as follows:

640,000 of British origin;
4,759,400 of French origin;
628,400 people of other origins.

First, let us assume that this population is closed and that each group will grow at the same rates as those we have assumed for Canada as a whole. Hence for 2001, we would obtain the following populations:

814,000 of British origin;
6,161,000 of French origin;
814,000 people of other origins.

We must estimate how each of these ethnic groups will be distributed according to mother tongue. Based on recent trends, we have assumed the distributions shown in Table 4.7. In applying these distributions to the various ethnic groups, we obtain the

following figures for the three language groups (in 2001):

English	:	1,243,000 (16.4%)
French	:	6,199,000 (81.6%)
Others	:	149,000 (2.0%)

TABLE 4.7
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE,
QUEBEC, 1971 AND 2001

Ethnic groups		Mother Tongue		
		English	French	Others
British	1971	82.6	16.5	0.9
	2001	73.0	25.0	2.0
French	1971	1.8	98.0	0.2
	2001	3.7	95.9	0.4
Others	1971	27.4	15.7	56.9
	2001	54.8	31.4	13.8

We must now take migrations into account. We have already established the net migrations per decade, by ethnic group, as follows:

British	:	+ 17,500
French	:	- 34,500
Others	:	+115,000
Total	:	+ 93,000

We shall assume that until 2001, British and French immigrants will all retain their language of origin. As for the other immigrants who will arrive between 1971 and 2001, we shall estimate that in 2001 their distribution according to mother tongue will be the same as it was in 1971: 27 per cent English; 16 per cent French; 57 per cent other languages. This leads to the results given in Table 4.8 for the year 2001. On the basis of these calculations, the English mother-tongue group would increase from 13.1 per cent in 1971 to 17.2 per cent in 2001: the French group

would decline in relative proportion, from 80.7 to 78.5 per cent; the other languages would see their percentage decrease from 6.1 to 4.3 per cent. The major reasons for this development are the insignificant net migration of people of French origin, the strong net immigration of the third group, and the fact that this group assimilates itself more to English than to French.

TABLE 4.8
PROJECTED POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE,
QUEBEC, 2001
(In thousands)

Mother Tongue	Closed Population	Net Immigrants	Total Population
English	1,268	136	1,404 (17.2%)
French	6,367	48	6,415 (78.5%)
Others	153	197	350 (4.3%)
TOTAL	7,788	381	8,169 (100%)

We would be the first to admit that all these hypotheses may not be borne out and that the future reality may differ from it. To what extent could the final result be different, in particular concerning the proportion of Francophones? It seems that no realistic hypothesis could anticipate the maintenance of the relative importance of Francophones in 1971 — that is, 80.7 per cent. However, it may not drop below 80 per cent. Yet, other studies have projected less favourable results for Francophones. In a study based on the 1961 Census and preceding censuses, Charbonneau, Henripin and Légaré, using several hypotheses, arrived at a proportion of French-speaking people which would be, in 2001, somewhere between 79.2 and 71.6 per cent.¹⁵

On the other hand, Robert Maheu¹⁶ arrived at a percentage somewhere between 79.6 and 75.5 for the year 1991. Extrapolating his results to 2001, we obtain limits of 79.0 and 73.7 per cent.

Our results (78.5 per cent) are closer to the upper limit established in these other studies. By modifying some of our premises to make them fairly pessimistic for Francophones, we obtained a percentage of 77.1 Francophones in the year 2001. In the light of the last Census, it seems very unlikely that the percentage could drop any lower.

¹⁵ "L'avenir démographique des francophones au Québec et à Montréal en l'absence de politiques adéquates" in *Revue de géographie de Montréal*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1970), pp. 199-202.

¹⁶ *Les francophones au Canada 1941-1991*, pp. 62-3.

The Montreal metropolitan area presents a particularly interesting case. Charbonneau, Henripin and Lègaré have made special forecasts for this area and according to their calculations, the proportion of Francophones will be between 52.7 and 60.0 per cent in 2001. On the basis of the new calculations we have made, we are inclined to believe that the proportion of Francophones will probably be close to 59 per cent — a substantial decrease, since the percentage was 66 in 1971. From the point of view of Francophones, this is probably the most disquieting aspect of the loss of momentum they are suffering in Quebec. Montreal is by far the most important centre in Quebec, and it is certain that the French-speaking majority of this province can only view with concern a substantial decrease in its demographic preponderance in the very heart of the economic, intellectual and artistic life of the only French-speaking community of North America that has any chance of surviving.

3. Anglophone Minority Groups in Quebec

We have just seen that the percentage of Anglophones in the province of Quebec will probably increase appreciably. In the Montreal metropolitan area, their position is in no danger of weakening, as there is a growing concentration of Anglophones. However, between 1961 and 1971, the relative importance of persons with English as their mother tongue diminished somewhat, even in the Montreal metropolitan area. There, the percentage dropped to 21.7 from 23.4. This decrease is probably temporary, and is due to an upsurge in the number of immigrants, many of whose descendants will choose English as their mother tongue, thus helping to maintain and probably even considerably strengthen the Anglophone position. There is hardly any doubt that, unless there is an Anglophone exodus from Montreal, or immigrants radically change their habits in choosing the language their children will speak, the percentage of Anglophones in the Montreal metropolitan area will reach 30 per cent around the year 2000. It will probably not exceed 35 per cent. At any rate, we can dismiss the allegations of those who predict that Montreal's Francophone majority will be overrun in the near future. Such predictions are based on alarmist attitudes rather than reasonably accurate calculations.

What about Anglophone groups in the rest of the province of Quebec? Most live in three specific areas:

a) *Around Montreal and in the Eastern Townships.* In the 20 counties near the Montreal metropolitan area, including the Eastern Townships, the number of persons with English as their mother tongue dropped from 89,000 to 75,000 between 1961 and 1971. However, the total population of this area also decreased, so that the drop in the percentage of Anglophones was only slight: from 14.3 to 13.3.

b) *Outaouais.* In this area's five counties, the number of Anglophones rose from 42,000 to 46,000 between 1961 and 1971. Compared with the total population, their percentage dropped from 17.6 to 16.0.

c) *Gaspé*. Anglophones are mainly found in four counties. Their numbers dropped slightly between 1961 and 1971, from 14,400 to 13,900. As the total population also decreased somewhat, their actual percentage only dropped from 12.3 to 12.1.

d) *Saquesnaw*. The Anglophones in this county saw their numbers increase from 7,700 to 9,400 between 1961 and 1971. However, their relative proportion dropped from 9.4 to 8.4 per cent.

The inference is that there is no drastic reduction in the Anglophone population or its comparative size in the areas where Anglophones are relatively numerous. In the long run, however, their relative importance may diminish, especially if Anglophones continue to settle increasingly in the Montreal area. In 1961, 71 per cent of English-speaking people in Quebec lived in this area; in 1971, this figure was 75.4 per cent, if we consider the territory covered by the Montreal metropolitan area as defined by the 1971 Census. After a few rough corrections to go back to the territory's 1961 boundaries, we find a percentage of about 73.

Unlike French-speaking people who have settled in the country's English-speaking areas, English-speaking people in Quebec have shown remarkable resistance to assimilation, and we can assume that cases in which francisation did take place were due mainly to inter-ethnic marriages. On the other hand, they have attracted a large number of Quebecers whose language of origin was neither English nor French.

The following is one of many examples that illustrate how English-speaking people in Quebec resist "francisation". According to unpublished data from the 1971 Census, 337,215 persons of British origin, born in Quebec and living there, had English as their mother tongue. Of that number, only 12,155 (3.6 %) had adopted French as their home language. On the French side, however, the situation was quite different; 696,935 persons of French origin, whose mother tongue was French, were born and living in Canadian provinces other than Quebec. Of that number, 137,320 (19.7 per cent) had adopted English as their home language. In both cases, they were people who lived in a province where the predominant language was not their mother tongue and who, in the course of time, adopted the predominant language as their home language. The assimilation rate among English-speaking people in Quebec is one-fifth of the rate among French-speaking people in the rest of Canada.

As for the attraction of English, we repeat that throughout Quebec, the number of persons whose home language is English is considerably higher than the number of persons having English as their mother tongue. Although this is especially true in Montreal, it also applies to the rest of the province: for 193,800 persons with English as their mother tongue and living outside the Montreal metropolitan area, we find 204,500 persons whose home language is English. Not including Montreal, there are 31 counties with at least 1,000 individuals whose mother tongue is English. In 28 of these counties, the 1971 Census counted more people whose home language is English than persons with English as their mother tongue. The three exceptions are the counties of Champlain, Quebec and St-Maurice.

It seems quite clear that the use of English by Anglophones in Quebec shows no sign of weakness.

INDIVIDUAL BILINGUALISM

For the purposes of this study, the fact that a certain number of Canadians understand both official languages has no great significance. Of course, this fact is important in itself, but here we are more concerned with understanding how language groups evolve — that is, to what language individuals are mainly attracted. In this respect, mother tongue and home language are significant. Nevertheless, one particular aspect of bilingualism does have a bearing on our study. We can ask ourselves to what extent learning a second language can lead to assimilation to that language.

We should first explain our definitions. When we say *bilingualism*, we refer to persons who understand English and French (thereby excluding any other language combinations, such as, for instance: English and German). When we say *assimilation to a given language*, we mean that the language in question has become the language usually spoken in the home, in other words, the home language. For example, if a person with English as his mother tongue (first language learned during childhood) speaks mainly French at home, we shall say that this person has become assimilated to the French language. We could, of course, use other definitions, but for practical purposes, we must remain within the constraints of the Census, our only reliable source of information. In the present case, assimilation is a language change which affects the individual: it is a change which occurs during his own lifetime, as opposed to other types of language mobility that may have affected former generations.

The 1971 Census counted 2,900,155 bilingual persons in Canada, i.e. 13.4 per cent of the total population. As shown in Table 5.1, 57 per cent of them live in Quebec, and 68 per cent have French as their mother tongue. The distribution of bilingual persons, in absolute numbers, for Canada and Quebec is given in Table 5.1.

We were wondering to what extent bilingualism could be a factor in assimilation to or adopting a new language. Although the question is general enough, there is but one answer: it is obvious that bilingualism is a prerequisite of assimilation. It is the first step towards adopting a new language. In fact, how could a person with English as his mother tongue speak French in the home unless he first learned some French and became bilingual?

This is borne out by abundant statistics. For instance, Canadians of French origin are most anglicized in provinces where bilingualism is most widespread. Moreover, it is no accident that persons of British origin in Quebec are both the most bilingual and the most “francisized” in Canada. However, we must not conclude that being bilingual necessarily leads to losing one’s mother tongue. We shall first look at persons in the province of Quebec whose mother tongue is English. In 1971, this group included 289,750 bilingual individuals (out of 788,830); 49,065, or 16.9 per cent of the bilingual group, had French as their home language. Therefore, we should not presume that English-speaking people in Quebec inevitably resist assimilation to French. On the other hand, the assumption that in other provinces, bilingual individuals whose mother tongue is French offer far less

TABLE 5.1
BILINGUAL PERSONS, BY MOTHER TONGUE,
CANADA AND QUEBEC, 1971

	Mother Tongue			
	Total	English	French	Other
Canada	2,900,155	710,925	1,971,230	218,000
Province of Quebec	1,663,790	289,750	1,250,635	123,405
Canada minus Quebec	1,236,365	421,175	720,595	94,595

Source: Census of Canada.

resistance to the adoption of English has proved to be correct, except in New Brunswick. The percentages, for each province, of bilingual individuals with French as their mother tongue, who have adopted English as their home language, are as follows:

Newfoundland	50.2	Ontario	36.6
Prince Edward Island	47.5	Manitoba	40.0
Nova Scotia	38.1	Saskatchewan	54.9
New Brunswick	16.4	Alberta	57.5
Quebec	5.9	British Columbia	75.9
All of Canada			17.6
Canada minus Quebec			38.0
Canada minus Quebec and New Brunswick			42.1

If we leave out Quebec and New Brunswick, we find that more than 40 per cent of bilingual persons with French as their mother tongue have adopted English as their home language. That means that with each generation French-speaking people lose 40 per cent of their bilingual population. Except in Quebec and New Brunswick, 85 per cent of Canadians with French as their mother tongue are bilingual. In New Brunswick this is 53 per cent, and in Quebec 26 per cent.

To sum up, outside Quebec and New Brunswick, almost all Canadians whose mother tongue is French become bilingual, and about four out of ten adopt English as their home language at some time in their life. In New Brunswick, half are bilingual, and among these, one out of six is anglicized. The rate is the same among bilingual persons in Quebec whose mother tongue is English. However, in Quebec, individuals whose mother tongue is English are somewhat less bilingual (37 per cent) than individuals in New Brunswick whose mother tongue is French.

As for Quebecers with French as their mother tongue, one-fourth are bilingual; in this group, only six per cent have adopted English as their home language.

Although we can say that learning a second language is a step towards adopting that language, we must qualify our statement by adding that this is a fairly small step for French-speaking people in Quebec, a significant step for English-speaking people in Quebec and in New Brunswick, and a precarious one for French-speaking people in other provinces.

CONCLUSION

Our study is based on relatively reliable data provided by the Canadian Censuses, vital statistics and immigration statistics. The Canadian Censuses offer a wealth of information, and Statistics Canada should be praised for collecting and publishing such abundant and valuable data. However, in analyzing these data, we detected an anomaly which is probably factual, but should be checked: it seems that many Canadians of various origins stated their ethnic origin as British in the 1971 Census, although that was not the case. The vital statistics and immigration statistics, our two other sources of information, do not offer as wide a range, which obliged us in many cases, to make estimates. Lastly, we know nothing about the ethnic or linguistic characteristics of emigrants.

In spite of these inadequacies, we were able to determine a number of significant facts about the evolution of language groups in Canada and the role played by immigration. To repeat the main points:

1. Since 1941, the English language has been gaining ground in Canada. This is mainly due to the marked preference shown by immigrants for that language. While 30 per cent of them already speak this language when they reach Canada, about 95 per cent of those who are not of British or French origin adopt English as their home language, and their descendants take it as their mother tongue. We may expect that in the year 2001, 66 per cent of the Canadian population will have English as mother tongue, and that another six to eight per cent will have English as the language used at home.
2. French has been losing ground since 1950. The proportion of Francophones stayed at 30 per cent from Confederation until that year, thanks to an unusually high birth rate, which compensated for the immigrants' contribution to the English-speaking group. However, the unusually high birth rate is now a thing of the past. Furthermore, Francophones outside the province of Quebec are being gradually assimilated. This means that the absolute number of Francophones will diminish in almost all provinces (Ontario is the exception), and that their comparative numbers will decline throughout the country. In 2000, from 92 to 95 per cent of Francophones will be concentrated in the province of Quebec.
3. Languages other than English and French will lose significance, and we may expect that around the year 2000 only from eight to 12 per cent of the Canadian population will have as its mother tongue a language other than English or French.
4. In the province of Quebec, the relative significance of Francophones will probably decrease between now and the year 2000, but this group will maintain a strong majority. We have estimated that it might drop from 81 per cent in 1971 to 78 per cent in 2001. We should be surprised if it dropped to less than 75 per cent

within the next 30 years. The decrease is the result of immigrants favouring the English language group and of emigration of a large group of Francophones from Quebec to other areas. The English-language group, however, will show a comparative increase.

5. In the Montreal metropolitan area, the Francophone majority remained stable at 66 per cent from 1961 to 1971, but we may expect a reduction in the comparative significance of this language group in favour of English between now and 2000, unless a much higher percentage of immigrants choose French. If past trends continue, the percentage of Francophones could decline to 59 per cent or even lower.

We are not in a position to suggest policies that might modify these trends. However, we can give an idea of the impact that the main factors involved may have, and that might help politicians gain an understanding of the magnitude of the problem. Between 1971 and 2001, two major factors will modify the relative significance of our language groups. These are migratory movements by various ethnic groups and language mobility, in which the switch is made from one language of origin to a new, adopted language. Here are some very rough estimates for each of the three language groups:

(a) *English*. This group will gain through migration of between 600,000 and 700,000 persons. The crossover from one language to another, however, will provide an even greater increase of about 2,600,000. It will lose about 150,000 persons, but its gross gain will be 2,800,000, of which one-third will come from the group of French origin and two-thirds from "other" ethnic groups.

(b) *French*. This group is losing ground throughout. Net emigration will reduce its population by about 150,000 to 200,000 persons, while language mobility will inflict a loss of approximately 600,000 persons. In fact, this figure is the difference between the small gain of about 200,000 which the French group will receive from the other groups, and the loss of 800,000 persons of French origin through anglicization.

(c) *Other languages*. They will gain from a high net immigration (about 2,000,000), but this will be more than offset by the high rate of language mobility in this group. In spite of slight gains at the cost of other groups, their net loss will be about 2,000,000.

The populations of the three language groups will probably increase between now and the year 2000. In fact, natural growth will offset losses incurred by Francophones through migration and anglicization, and by the third group because of anglicization alone, but as we have already seen, the relative significance of these two groups will decrease. Could we modify these trends if we wanted to? Perhaps they can be modified slightly, but at this point it would seem quite difficult to neutralize them completely.

APPENDIX A

A CRITIQUE OF SOME SURPRISING RESULTS OF THE 1971 CENSUS

Contrary to previous procedure, the 1971 Census was made with the help of a questionnaire that in most cases was completed by the respondents themselves. In these circumstances, certain concepts may not have been interpreted in a uniform manner, especially those that are open to interpretation, and for these a specific and in some ways arbitrary definition must be given. For instance, the definition of ethnic origin given by the Canadian Census is based on the characteristics of the paternal ancestor who immigrated to North America. Some people may not have read this definition carefully and as a result, may have given an incorrect answer in good faith. Moreover, quite apart from the manner in which the information was collected (i.e. with or without the help of the Census officer), as time goes by and generation succeeds generation a growing number of Canadians may no longer remember the exact origins of their paternal ancestor who came to settle in North America. In many cases, the last name may be an indication, although some last names have gradually become associated with origins that were not the original ones. This happened, for instance, to the name Harvey in the province of Quebec, where the Harveys have been French for generations, and almost everyone believes the name is of French origin. Offhand, we can assume that when the true origin is forgotten, the origin corresponding to the adopted language takes its place. Because English is the adopted language of most individuals of various origins, we can expect the number of persons of British origin to be overestimated. It would seem that this is the case.

Two surprising facts in the 1971 Census results come to our attention: a) as a percentage of the total population, individuals of British origin increased between 1961 and 1971, from 43.8 to 44.6 per cent; b) on the other hand, the proportion of individuals of French origin whose mother tongue is English increased far less than one might have expected during the same period. Why the two phenomena seem improbable is discussed below.

1. *Apparent excess of British in 1971.* If one group, as a proportion of the total population, increases, either their natural growth must be higher than that of the total population, or their net migration is more than proportional to their relative importance. However, it seems that neither is the case. The rate of natural growth of Britons has probably been somewhat lower than that of the total population. And net migration would have had to be at least 322,000 between 1961 and 1971 to maintain the relative importance of Britons. This figure does not seem very likely. In fact, gross immigration of Britons was 450,000; to achieve a net immigration of 322,000, gross emigration would have had to be $450,000 - 322,000 = 128,000$. This is very small, as it only represents 18 per cent of gross emigration (estimated at 695,000) by the entire Canadian population in the course of this decade. This would merely *maintain* the relative importance of Britons. However, their relative importance rose from 43.8 to 44.6 per cent, an increase of 172,000 individuals. This

is impossible to explain, even assuming that no Britons left Canada during this decade.

2. *Apparent stabilization in assimilation of persons of French origin.* Between 1931 and 1961, the percentage of persons of French origin with English as their mother tongue varied as follows:

1931	:	4.7%
1941	:	5.8%
1951	:	7.9%
1961	:	10.0%

The progression is almost geometric, and by extrapolation, we get 12.5 per cent in 1971. However, according to the 1971 Census, this percentage is only 10.43. It would be too easy to attribute this apparent stabilization to the effectiveness of various policies aimed at promoting the French fact outside Quebec. Those policies are recent, and there are other signs that persons of French origin continue to be assimilated. In this respect, a comparison between the number of individuals whose mother tongue is French and those whose home language is French speaks for itself.

Briefly, we expected to find about 770,000 persons of French origin with English as their mother tongue in 1971, but, according to the Census, there are only 645,000. This leaves a deficit of 125,000. The most plausible explanation is that these 125,000 individuals declared they were of British origin, which is not unlikely, nor is it surprising that the phenomenon occurred in the 1971 Census. Assimilation of substantial numbers of persons of French origin did not begin until 1930, so it is not surprising that the memory of French origin remained strong until 1961. Forty years later, however, we begin to find individuals of French origin who have never been conscious of the least bit of French in their lives (their parents' mother tongue was already English).

We have every reason to believe that the same type of phenomenon occurred in the case of a large number of individuals of "other" origins.

3. *An attempt at reconstructing data.* Numerical values can be used in attempting to illustrate the phenomena involved. We do not claim that we can actually correct the 1971 Census data, but merely wish to give a plausible picture of what may have happened in Table A.1, in order to provide an explanation for the anomalies mentioned above.

In this table, the most arbitrary figures are those for emigration in each ethnic group, as we have no information on this subject. A different distribution of immigrants among the ethnic groups could be made, which would modify the figures in line 8, especially. Based on the figures in our reconstructed table, about 400,000 persons of "other" origin and 100,000 of French origin stated they were of British origin in 1971. Other estimates are equally plausible, but altogether, the number of individuals who erroneously stated they were of British origin should not be less than 300,000.

TABLE A.1

ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTING A DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE
TO EXPLAIN THE ANOMALIES IN THE 1971 CENSUS,
FOR THREE ETHNIC GROUPS, 1961 TO 1971
(Figures in Thousands)

	Ethnic Groups			
	Total	British	French	Other
1. Population in 1961	18,238	7,997	5,540	4,701
2. Natural growth 1961-1971* in percentages	2,474 13.6%	980 12.2%	784 14.1%	710 15.1%
3. Immigration	1,429	449	48	932
4. Emigration	695	359**	68**	269*
5. Net migration	+ 734	+ 90	- 20	+ 663
6. Net migration, including its natural growth	+ 856	+ 105	- 22	+ 773
7. Population expected in 1971 (lines 1 + 2 + 6)	21,568	9,082	6,302	6,184
8. Number of individuals who erroneously reported they were of British origin	—	+ 542	- 122	- 420
9. Population of 1971 census	21,568	9,624	6,180	5,764

N.B. Exact numbers are not given in this table. We are using very rough estimates, to give an idea of what may have occurred as a result of statements on ethnic origin.

* This only covers the natural growth of populations present in 1961, and excludes natural growth of net migrants, which is covered in line 6.

** Hypothetical figures, but we believe they are plausible.



